

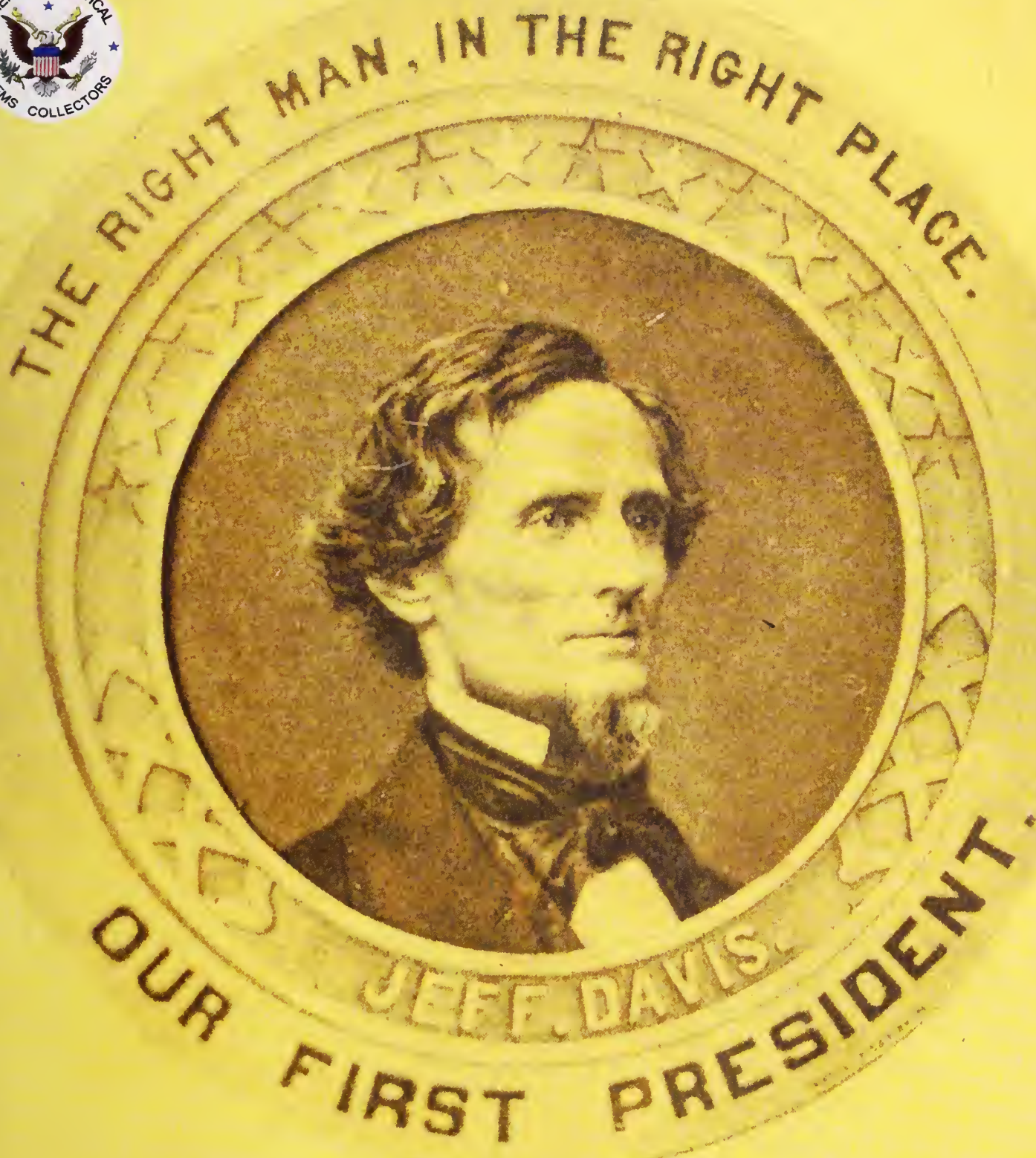
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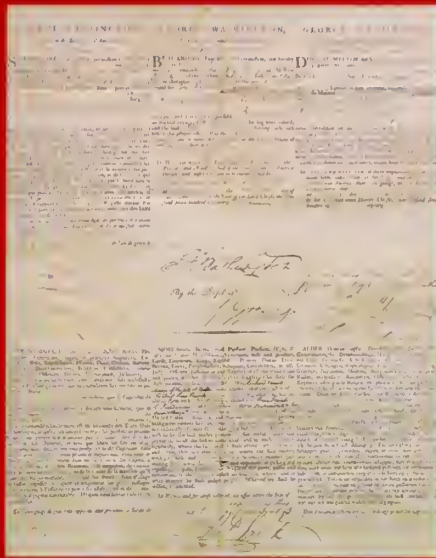
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## FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT



## SOUTHERN ISSUE

As a student and collector of political history, I view Southern politics through the eyes of my grandfather. As a noted Georgia businessman during the Roosevelt era, he experienced firsthand the infamous smoke filled back rooms, where laws and policies were made over cigars and bourbon. My grandfather's South was lopsidedly Democratic. Franklin Roosevelt was President - period. The Republican Party was nonexistent. Governors, senators and congressmen were chosen at the Democratic state conventions, with Election Day being a mere formality. My interest in Southern politics began as a young child, enthralled by my grandfather's stories of the people he knew and the events he'd experienced. Franklin Roosevelt, Eugene Talmadge, Dick Russell and Walter George were the names; his stories brought these people back to life and I came to know them through his eyes. My grandfather served as aide-de-camp to the great Southern demagogue, Governor Eugene Talmadge. Senator Herman Talmadge was my grandfather's friend through life and at the end his honorary pallbearer. I recall as a young child, yelling into the phone as my grandfather and Senator Talmadge tried to carry on a conversation. A letter opener in my desk drawer, a law school graduation gift from Senator Talmadge, represents to me the friendship we continued to share as I reached adulthood and sought his wise counsel and advice.

The South in which I live is totally different from that of my grandfather. The Republican Party is now the majority. Demographics have totally changed. The Democratic strongholds have all but eroded. The names known by my grandfather have been replaced with those of Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, Bill Frist and George W. Bush. The infamous smoke filled rooms of my grandfather's time surely exist to some degree, but caucuses, floor debates and grassroots town hall meetings predominate. The general election now means something and we Southerners watch with anticipation as FOX and CNN report wins and losses.

This *Keynoter* is devoted to a study of Southern politics, its history, some of its stalwarts, its trends, and the emergence of the Republican Party as the majority. I am honored that Professor Charles Bullock, Richard B. Russell Chair of Political Science at the University of Georgia and a nationally preeminent Southern political scientist, agreed to contribute his essay on the emergence of the Republican Party in the South. Dr. Bullock was my major professor at UGA. He is one of a handful of professors with whom I maintain contact and one of the few who I can earnestly say made an impact on my education. Dr. Bullock's classes are full of life; he is endowed with the rare gift of holding the interests of his students and imparting his teachings. It's no surprise that Dr. Bullock's classes have waiting lists, just as they did when I was his student almost 20 years ago.



I would like to dedicate this issue of the *Keynoter* to my grandfather, R.E. Blumenfeld, lieutenant colonel of the Georgia Guard during World War II, aide-de-camp to Governor Eugene Talmadge, and member of the Georgia War Industries Board. This issue is one of the very few places where my grandfather's South and my South converge.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'B. E. Krapf'.

Brian E. Krapf  
President



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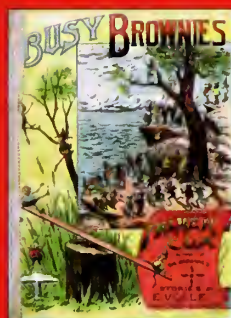
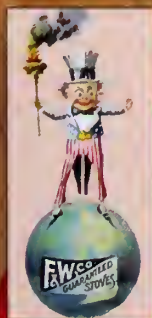
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## EDITOR'S MESSAGE

*"I honestly believe there are people so excited over this election that they must think that the President has something to do with running this country."*

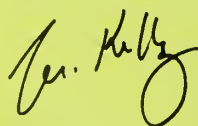
*- Will Rogers*

*The battle between Bush and Kerry is over. Some of us are pleased with the results and others are not. Nonetheless, despite all the intensity of feeling, whether you are happy or sad, the Republic will survive the next four years and there will still be plenty of issues to contest in 2008.*

*The aftermath of the 2004 election is a good time to review the profound changes that have swept the South in the last 50 years. That region went from being the Democratic heartland to being the Republican base. Professor Charles Bullock's essay on that change discusses the gradual process that has had such a fundamental impact on our politics. We also look at some of the key figures in Southern politics, including Jeff Davis, Richard Russell and Strom Thurmond.*

*Special thanks are due to David and Janice Frent for the use of their spectacular CDV image of Jefferson Davis shown on the front cover. I also want to thank Tom Slater, Cathy Hadd and Heritagegalleries.com for donating over 500 handsome color images to The Keynoter archives. They will be an invaluable asset to our hobby for years to come.*

*Albert Einstein once said, "Politics is more difficult than physics." He wasn't kidding.*



Michael Kelly  
Editor



## Features

10 Republican Emergence in the South

16 Richard Russell

20 Jefferson Davis

24 Jimmy Carter

26 The Sage of Hickory Hill

28 Strom Thurmond

31 South Carolina

33 Georgia Day

34 TR in Atlanta



**ILLUSTRATIONS**—The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Jason Berggren, Germaine Broussard, Robert Fratkin, David and Janice Frent, John Gingerich, Harvey Goldberg, Cathy Hadd, Heritagegalleries.com, Brian Krapf, John Pendergrass and Tom Slater.

**NEXT ISSUE** —Religion has been one of the most powerful and enduring forces in society. We take a look at the impact of religion in American politics, including Father Coughlin, the Prohibitionist movement, and more.

**FRONT COVER**— A CDV honoring Jefferson Davis as the President of the Confederate States of America.

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**Dick Fenno**

Richard F. Fenno, Jr., is William J. Kenan Professor of Political Science and Distinguished University Professor at the University of Rochester, New York, NY.

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# Republican Emergence in the South: Causes and Consequences

By Charles S. Bullock, III

Charles S. Bullock, III is the Richard B. Russell Professor of Political Science at the University of Georgia. A noted expert of the history of Southern politics, Prof. Bullock specializes in civil rights, voting rights and other American political issues. He earned his Ph.D. from Washington University and has authored numerous books, including *The New Politics of the Old South* (1998); *Runoff Elections in the United States* (1992); *David Duke and the Politics of Race in the South* (1995); *Public Policy and Politics in America* (1978, 1984); *Racial Equality in America* (1975); *Black Political Attitudes* (1972); *The New Politics* (1970) and more.

Only infrequently in America is the majority partly replaced by its rival. From the time of the Civil War until the New Deal, Republicans dominated the national political scene. During that 70-year period, only two Democrats managed to win the presidency (Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson). The election of Franklin Roosevelt brought Democrats to national dominance and they controlled the presidency for the next 20 years, the U.S. Senate for 48 years with only a four-year interruption and the U.S. House for more than 60 years with only a two-term hiatus.

During the decades when most of the nation voted for Republicans, the South displayed remarkable loyalty to the Democratic Party. Following the withdrawal of federal troops and the end of Reconstruction after the contested 1876 election, Democrats dominated presidential elections in the region. Prior to 1952 they invariably swept the states; only in 1920 and 1928 did Republicans win presidential electors in any southern state. In the Deep South (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina) the electorate rejected Republicans even longer. When Georgia voted for Barry Goldwater in 1964, it marked the Peach State's first time ever to support a Republican for president. For almost a century, the South stood as the Democratic Party's most loyal region.

Republican influence was so minimal that in his classic *Southern Politics*, V. O. Key characterized the region's Republicans as "somewhat between an esoteric cult on the order of a lodge and a conspiracy for plunder in accord with the accepted customs of our politics." For years part of the strength of the Democratic Party was that the politically ambitious would not consider running as anything but a Democrat, regardless of their personal ideology. And even when Republicans initially began to recruit candidates, those willing to run under their banner were often viewed by their fellow citizens as a bit quirky.

The South's serious flirtation with GOP efforts for offices below the presidency is of recent vintage. John Tower of Texas, the first popularly-elected Southern Republican senator, won the remainder of Lyndon Johnson's term in 1961. Five years later, Winthrop Rockefeller and Claude Kirk became the first Republican governors in decades when elected from Arkansas and Florida, respectively. Indicative of the slowness and unevenness of GOP growth in the South, Louisiana didn't elect a Republican senator until 2004 and Georgia chose its first Republican governor since Reconstruction only in 2002.

In 1995, Republicans finally came of age in the South as they won most of the region's seats in both the U.S. Senate and House. Indeed, in recent years but for the Republican strength in the South, Democrats would have already reclaimed control of Congress. The 1990s also saw Republicans winning majorities in several state legislative chambers so that by 2004, they controlled both houses in Florida, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia, the upper chamber in Georgia and held half of the





The last President from the Deep South until Jimmy Carter was Whig Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, shown above with 1848 running mate Millard Fillmore.



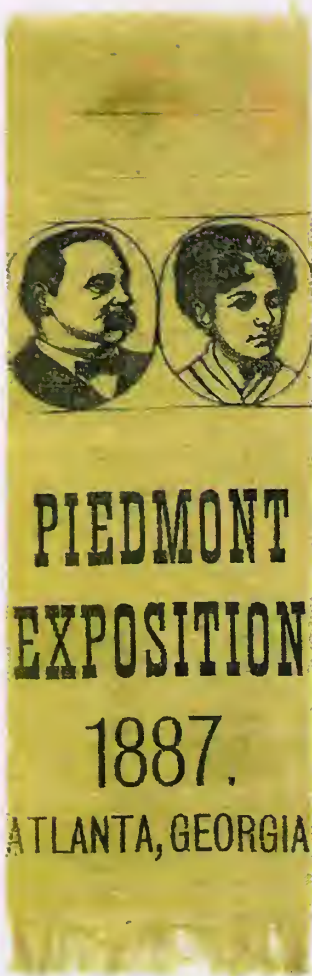
Before slavery became a major issue, there was an active two party system in the South, as shown by his 1840 ribbon for the Whig Party.

In 1860, Democrats shattered over slavery and ran two national tickets. The southern Democrats supported John Breckinridge.



When Lyndon Johnson resigned his Senate seat after winning the vice presidency in 1960, Republican John Tower shocked observers when he won the seat in a special election. It was to be the first of many GOP victories in what had once been solidly Democratic South. Jubilant Texas Republican boosted Tower for VP in 1964 and for President in 1968.





After Civil War and the end of Reconstruction, the South became a one party region, supporting only Democrats.



Many attempts were made to rebuild the Republican Party in the South but most failed until Goldwater in 1964



seats of the North Carolina House. While the trend in Republican support has been almost relentlessly upward progress has come at different speeds depending upon the state and the level of office. Generally the pattern has been one of change percolating downward with Republican advances coming first in presidential elections, then in statewide and congressional contests. Republican gains in state legislatures have come more slowly. Local offices in the many counties of the South remain the level at which Democrats are most successful.

In terms of national strength, for decades the South served as the foundation stone on which Democrats built presidential campaigns and efforts to control Congress. Today it is the region Republicans rely on to build presidential and congressional majorities.

The remainder of this article examines two topics. First, what factors have contributed to the growth of the GOP in the South? Second, what are the consequences of the GOP strength in the South for national politics?

## How Did the GOP Grow?

Traditionally, for many people party identification was much like religion in its grip and practice. Party preference guided behavior, it rarely changed and, like religion, some people practiced it infrequently, only on special days. Even in our era, with the swelled ranks of independents, many citizens consistently vote for one party. Because of the loyalty which many voters have for their party, for a region to change its dominant partisan behavior may take time. Some of the major factors in accounting for this change





Although Al Smith's Catholicism was unpopular in the South, even that couldn't keep the Deep South from voting Democratic.



Even Theodore Roosevelt's popularity couldn't break the Deep South which voted for Parker in 1904.



Virginia's Harry Byrd was long a symbol of Southern resistance. Shown reduced.

A second factor that accounts for the weakening of the Democratic tradition has been that with each succeeding generation, the ties to the party of their forefathers weakens for native southerners. Today's younger voter has only a

hazy idea of what the New Deal meant for the South and that has been derived largely from history books. Older voters who participated in a CCC program may still feel an attachment to FDR and his reforms that subsequent generations struggle to understand.

A third explanation focuses on conversion. While young voters may have always viewed themselves as Republicans, older ones started out as Democrats. Indeed many of today's southern Republican officeholders began their political lives in the other party. Some, with Strom Thurmond at the head of the list, changed parties while in office. At the local level, conversion often comes as officeholders recognize that most of their voters have already switched parties.

When the GOP wins an established convert from the Democratic Party, it gives the emerging party immediate legitimacy. This was nowhere better demonstrated than in South Carolina when senator and former governor Strom Thurmond changed parties and came out in support of Goldwater's presidential candidacy. Thurmond did this despite warnings from his advisors and staffers that it

have been the in-migration of Republicans from other parts of the country, generational replacement, conversion and redistricting.

Many of the earliest Republicans in the modern South imported their partisanship along with their household goods and children when they moved into the region to assume management responsibilities for national corporations. These transplants arrived in the South, looked for the Republican Party and, when they could not find one, created one. This helps explain why many early Republican successes came in the suburban communities where northern migrants settled.



Eisenhower began to make inroads in the border states but Goldwater finally carried the Deep South.

would destroy his career: Thurmond's survival as a Republican encouraged other conservatives in the Palmetto State to join him in the GOP.

Just the opposite occurred in Georgia where in 1968, Jimmy Bentley, a confidant of Sen. Herman Talmadge and frequently mentioned as a likely gubernatorial candidate, led five Democratic statewide officeholders into the GOP. Bentley ran for governor in 1970 only to lose to a popular Atlanta television newsman, Hal Suit. None of the other four switchers ever won public office again. This dampened enthusiasm for party switching among Georgia Democrats. This chilling effect was not fully displaced until 2002 when Sonny Perdue, who four years earlier had been the Democratic leader in the state Senate, became the state's first Republican governor in 130 years. In contrast, Thurmond's South Carolina elected its first Republican governor in 1974 and since then Republicans have the office more often than Democrats.

Redistricting has also contributed to the growth of the GOP. Areas in southern states that have experienced the greatest growth have tended to be Republican. The decennial reallocation of legislative seats to reflect changing demographic patterns revealed in the census has shifted seats away from rural, Democratic areas to Republican suburbs and in so doing created open seats that Republicans could contest without having to defeat well-entrenched Democratic incumbents.

## Republican Office Holders

One of the remarkable stories of partisan change was the ability of Democrats to retain offices even as voters became increasingly committed to Republican presidential candidates. For many years Democratic candidates could distance themselves from the top of their ticket by taking more moderate positions than did their party's presidential nominees. For example, in 1972 Richard Nixon became the first Republican presidential nominee to sweep the South yet Democrats retained five of seven southern Senate seats contested.

In the House Nixon had short coattails as the GOP percentage edged up six points to 31 percent.

For years after white voters opted for Republican presidential nominees, many continued to prefer Democrats for other offices. Democratic success below the presidential level relied on a party suffering from a form of schizophrenia. The Democratic Party struggled to hold together a conservative, white wing and a liberal, largely black wing. In several states, this coalition experienced great pressure in the early 1990s in battles over redistricting. The U.S. Justice Department's adoption of a "Max Black" strategy that demanded the drawing of majority-black districts when possible imperiled a number of white Democrats who had relied upon black votes for reelection. Some saw their seats become majority black. Representatives Robin Tallon of South Carolina and Claude Harris of Alabama stepped aside for black Democrats after the new maps left them in heavily black districts. Other white Democrats like Rep. Richard Ray of Georgia fell to Republican challengers after the new maps bleached their districts in order to aggregate African-Americans and thereby craft majority-black districts. As conservative southern whites increasingly brought their votes for Congress in line with their strong support for Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and the older George Bush, overwhelmingly white districts elected Republicans.

In addition to creating a dozen new majority-black districts, each of which elected an African-American Democrat to Congress in 1992, the protracted struggle over redistricting frayed the bonds holding the Democratic biracial coalition together. In the course of legislative debates and meetings with officials from the U.S. Department of Justice who, under the Voting Rights Act are charged with approving redistricting plans in all southern states except Arkansas and Tennessee, white Democrats often had to defend themselves against allegations of racism. The wounds inflicted within the Democratic Party did not heal quickly.

To the electorate at large, media coverage of the struggles in the legislature and with the Justice Department often appeared to have overtones of affirmative action. And while it was a Republican-led Justice Department that used the oversight provisions of the Voting Rights Act simultaneously to promote black and Republican fortunes, it was often the white Democrats who ended up paying the price.



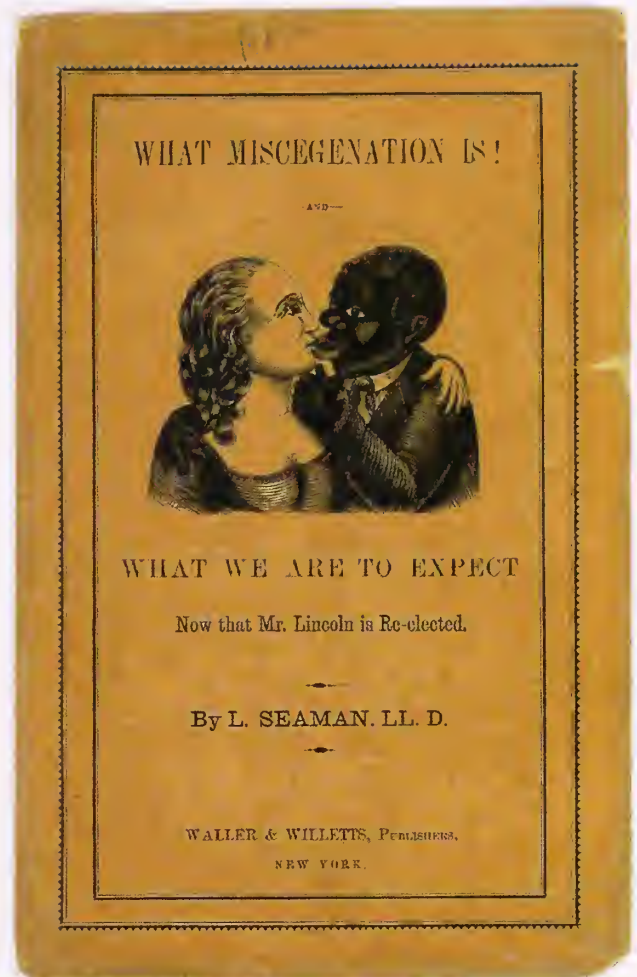
At the local and state level in the South, Republicans have made remarkable gains. To some extent this has meant replacing a conservative Democrat with a conservative Republican so that the policy consequences may have not been particularly large.

## What GOP's Southern Success Means for Congress

The elimination of conservative Democrats from Congress, however, has gone a long way towards eliminating the institution's middle ground. As recent analyses done by the *National Journal* demonstrate, it is rare for any Democrat to be as conservative as even the most liberal Republican. As southern congressional Democrats become more like their northern cousins, national politics becomes increasingly polarized. This has contributed to both parties becoming increasingly strident in demanding their positions with policy gridlock being a result.

In the past, conservative Southern Democrats (of whom Sen. Zell Miller of Georgia may be the last example) embraced positions between the liberal preferences of Northern Democrats and the conservatism of Republicans. When Congress boasted a large contingent of Southern Democrats, they held the balance of power. They voted with their northern cousins to organize the chamber and shared in the bounty of committee and subcommittee chairs, along with extra dollops of patronage dollars. But on many social welfare initiatives, Southern Democrats joined with Republicans to defeat or slow down change. Except during periods of extraordinarily large Democratic majorities such as in the early New Deal and the first years of Lyndon Johnson's presidency, support from Southern Democrats was necessary to enact legislation and, to secure that needed support, bill sponsors tempered their demands.

Contributing to the harsh tone of congressional politics has been the influence exercised by the emerging ranks of southern Republicans. As the GOP came of age in the South, it achieved unprecedented leadership in the party on the national stage. All three top posts in the House engaged in implementing the Contract with America in 1995 came from the South as Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia had as lieutenants Texans Dick Armey and Tom DeLay. In the Senate, the two candidates to succeed Majority Leader Bob Dole when he stepped down to run for president were Mississippians Trent Lott and Thad Cochran. These southern Republicans pushed



Race has always been a fundamental issue in Southern politics as in this 1864 pamphlet.

policy options that were not only more conservative than the Democratic alternatives, they were more conservative than the preferences of some northern Republicans.

The emergence of the GOP in the South that has been fueled by the conservative exodus from the Democratic Party, both at the elite and mass levels, has had profound consequences for the politics not just of the region but for the nation. Along with the shift of allegiance by southern voters has come the redistribution of power in southern states from the farms and county seats to the suburbs. With Republicans taking control of some southern states and nearing majority status elsewhere, partisan conflict has sharpened. At the national level, the civility of debate has suffered as two ideologically homogeneous parties have struggled to secure dominance for programs that, while enthusiastically embraced by strong partisans, may fail to attract the support of a majority in society.

# Richard B. Russell, Jr. A Georgia Giant

By Brian Krapf

Brian Krapf (APIC #9395) obtained his degree in political science from the University of Georgia, where he concentrated on southern politics under our guest author, Prof. Charles Bullock. Brian obtained his JD degree from the Walter F. George School of Law and is a civil trial lawyer, specializing in traumatic brain injury and nursing home abuse cases. He currently serves as President of the APIC.



Russell had a great political career in Georgia. He won for state legislature, governor and senator.

Serving Georgia and his nation must have run in Dick Russell's blood. Throughout his entire adult life he served as an elected official and was beloved by his constituency, respected by his peers and dedicated to his beliefs. In 1952 he was a leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, only to lose because he refused to renounce segregation. Indeed, segregation was his main cause, which overshadowed so much of the good work he did.

As his biographer, Gilbert C. Fite, author of *Richard B. Russell, Jr., Senator from Georgia*, summarizes,

*As Senator, Russell single handedly blocked every civil rights, anti-lynching and voting rights bill that came before the Senate floor, and tried to defeat the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964. Russell didn't believe in racial equality. The races, in Russell's mind, were meant to be kept separate. Any deviation was against the old Southern way of life. Whenever he was confronted on the Senate floor about racial disparities and injustices, the kindly Senator, always calm (unlike rabid demagogues Mississippi Senator Theodore Bilbo or South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond), almost never made blatantly racist statements in public and would say "I love the Negro, but we cannot solve whatever troubles we have by impeding the Constitution." Subtle. Reasonable. Effective.*

*So good, in fact, was he at playing the innocuous role of the avuncular Southern gentleman, a Time magazine cover story in 1957 ignored whatever history Russell had in dealing with race and wrote "Dick...admired and respected (the Negroes) in that special, paternal Southern way." An earlier Time article written in 1951 gushed "Russell feels none of the demagogues' hatred towards the Negro, and despises the KKK mentality which looks upon the Negro as something less than a human being." And yet, Russell firmly believed "the Negro to be inferior to the anglo...less brave, and far more cowardly, and intellectually inferior in every way." Any attack on Georgia, her institutions, or the South, always struck a raw nerve. The South was his home and he intended to fight the Lost Cause to the bitter end. What Russell said was exactly what Russell felt.*

Senator Russell was born November 2, 1897 in Winder, Georgia. He grew up in a segregated society and true to his roots, felt that separation of the races was an important facet of the social and political structure of the state and nation. After graduating from the University of Georgia in 1918, he tried to join the Navy. However, World War I was ending and the Navy was downsizing. Like his father, Russell then attended the University of Georgia School of Law and



Dick Russell's father—Richard B. Russell, Sr.—was chief justice of the state supreme court in Georgia but failed in several races for governor.



began his public service career as County Attorney for Barrow County, Georgia.

In 1920, at age 23, Russell was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives on a campaign that included strong platforms on public education and good roads. Russell quickly became popular among other state representatives, always gathering friends with his warm good ole boy personality. He was elected Speaker of the Georgia House in 1926, when he was twenty-eight years old. In 1928, Russell ran for Governor and won. Once again, his campaign emphasized good roads and public education.

During the years he served as Governor, Russell faced many difficult decisions. The Great Depression brought Georgia vast unemployment, falling cotton production and prices, and deficit spending. State revenues were falling and cuts needed to be implemented to bring the state's books into balance. On January 1, 1932, the Reorganization Act of 1931 went into effect. Russell skillfully reorganized a vast bureaucracy into eighteen agencies and departments to save money. At the same time, in his masterful way, Russell expanded the number of roads, including building a major highway from Atlanta to the Florida border.

In 1932, U.S. Senator William Harris died in office. Russell, a popular state governor and a close ally of FDR's New Deal policies, decided to run for this position. He trounced his opponent, Charles Crisp, by more than 50,000 votes. Over the next four decades, Russell became a Washington powerhouse, advising presidents, chairing committees, and running for President himself.

Immediately on becoming U.S. Senator, Russell became known as a supporter of a strong military, a strong agricultural policy, and also segregation. As a freshman senator, he was appointed to the Senate Appropriations Committee, which he served on or chaired until his death in 1971. Among the legislation he proposed was federal farm relief, soil conservation, rural electrification, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and the National School Lunch Program. Although a strong supporter of the military throughout his career, he opposed sending troops to Viet Nam. He was a member of the Warren Commission and took a leading role investigating President Kennedy's assassination. Additionally, as President Pro Tem of the Senate, he was fourth in line to ascend to the Presidency.

In 1936, Senator Russell faced Democratic primary opposition from popular Governor Eugene Talmadge. There was no Republican party in Georgia and securing the Democratic nomination was tantamount to winning

## ***If you want to save the Red, White, and Blue Vote for Dick Russell for President in '52***

Copyright © 1952



In 1952, Russell was a leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination.



the general election. Talmadge was a vehement opponent of FDR and the New Deal. Talmadge so virulently opposed this "federal intrusion," that he refused to make an appearance at FDR's 1935 Atlanta Homecoming celebration. He was also slated to be Huey Long's Vice President on a 1936 third party anti-FDR ticket; those plans were dashed when Long was assassinated. Barred by state law from succeeding himself as governor, and with Huey Long now deceased, Talmadge set his sights on removing Dick Russell, one of FDR's most ardent supporters, from office.

The 1936 Senate race was one of the most heated in Georgia's history and the most tumultuous in Russell's entire career. The race reached a head on August 26, 1936, when, according to famed *Atlanta Constitution* editor Ralph McGill, Russell gave "the greatest speech of his career." In a Griffin, Georgia stump debate, Russell threatened to make a Democrat out of "old Republican Gene," and ridiculed Talmadge for calling the CCC "a bunch of bums and loafers." Talmadge responded by accusing Russell of befriending northern blacks and being in FDR's hip pocket. Russell defeated Talmadge by 130,000 votes.

Senator Russell was most proud of the Russell-Ellender National School Lunch Act. Signed into law on June 4, 1946 by President Truman, this legislation assured every child would have a well balanced, low cost meal at school. This was one of Russell's major accomplishments as a U.S. Senator and his true crowning accomplishment. In debating the merits of this bill, critics coined the popular phrase "there is no such thing as a free lunch."

On May 4, 1952, a blue convertible Cadillac turned onto Peachtree Street in downtown Atlanta with Senator Russell sitting in the back seat, waving to a mostly white crowd of 250,000. Russell spoke that night to 3,400 people, talking about waste in government, championing states rights and warning against federal corruption. This was his send off to run for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States. Two days later he beat the surging Estes Keafauver in the Florida primary. Over the next two months, his support of segregation would define his campaign. Growing up in the racially segregated South, Russell not only publicly defended his conviction that segregation was the only way of life, but he voted his conviction and in the end, paid the price for his way of thinking. Russell actually stood an excellent chance of securing the presidential nomination, with strong support in the South and many Democrats privately supporting him across the United States. Realizing that segregation would not sell in the North or the West Coast, a group of high ranking Democrats privately met with Russell and asked him to reconsider his stance on segregation. Russell refused, stating



These handsome 4" buttons are from Russell's 1952 attempt to win the Democratic presidential nomination.



ADMIT ONE  
JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER  
JUNE 29, 1956

DO NOT DETACH

# JEFFERSON-JACKSON DAY DINNER

I N° 15

HON. RICHARD B. RUSSELL  
U. S. SENATOR  
FROM GEORGIA

Sponsored By  
**STATE DEMOCRATIC  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
OF GEORGIA**  
**DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL**  
**Atlanta, Georgia**  
**JUNE 29, 1956**  
**6:45 P.M.**

HON. MARVIN GRIFFIN  
GOV. OF GEORGIA

he believed ending segregation would destroy the fabric of Southern society. President Truman then intervened, speaking privately to Senator Russell, explaining that "liberal Democrats in Chicago, New York, St. Louis and Kansas City" would never vote for him and that his nomination would splinter the Democratic party. Russell again refused. One month after this meeting, on July 24, 1952, Illinois Governor Adlai Stevenson secured the Democratic presidential nomination on the third ballot.

Even after his 1952 defeat, Russell continued to being a staunch supporter of states rights and segregation. In 1956, he drafted a document titled "The Declaration of Constitutional Principles" also known as the "Southern Manifesto." This was released to the press on March 12, 1956 and attacked the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*. This document, under Richard Russell's leadership, once again unified the Southern federal legislators in their strong support of segregation. In fact, only three Southern senators refused to sign it; Estes Kefauver, Albert Gore, Sr. and Lyndon Johnson.

Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson, a Russell confidante and protégé, is credited with softening Senator Russell's views on segregation. During the Eisenhower administration, the nation, for the first time in nearly a century, gave serious consideration to ending segregation. A major, sweeping civil rights bill was introduced in July 1957. Russell spoke on the floor of the U.S. Senate in an attempt to weaken the civil rights bill. He claimed the bill would "punish the South" and further claimed President Eisenhower did not understand the full implications of civil rights. One week later, Russell was called to the White House to meet with Eisenhower. Once again, just as he refused with President Truman, Russell would not bend or yield on his strong stance. Although Eisenhower's initial bill did not pass, a watered-down bill was skillfully steered through the Senate by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. Johnson wanted the victory to

help his presidential ambitions and, despite its mild content, the 1957 bill was the first civil rights legislation to pass the Senate since the 1870's. The victory came because Russell held back a southern filibuster to help LBJ's presidential prospects. Russell supported LBJ in 1960 and then backed the Kennedy/Johnson ticket that November.

Upon taking office, President Kennedy made civil rights a major focus. Kennedy had promised Black citizens of the United States that if they were patient, more civil rights legislation would follow. Of course, Dick Russell was in the Senate with an organized bloc of Southern senators, standing at the ready to defeat any such legislation. Once again, Lyndon Johnson, now Vice President, intervened. In June, 1963, Vice President Johnson met with President Kennedy and advised that "blacks are tired of this patience stuff" and that Kennedy ought to "sit down with Russell and answer every argument he has made against civil rights." Seven days later, the Senate voted on cloture on the civil rights debate, passing it 71 to 29. This is the first time that Russell's southern bloc of segregationist senators was defeated. When Lyndon Johnson became President in 1963 and proposed his Great Society thereafter, the Southern bloc had weakened even more. Russell himself took a more moderate stance, publicly stating that "there must be a balance in rights for all." He focused more in these later years on his work as chairman of the Appropriations Committee. As chairman, he personally oversaw virtually every aspect of funding of the U.S. Government. His opposition to the Viet Nam War meant tough going for his old friend Lyndon Johnson, but Johnson prevailed. In 1969, Russell was elected President Pro Tem of the Senate, a mostly ceremonial position except for the fact that it made Russell fourth in line for the presidency, after the Vice President and Speaker of the House. This would be as close as Russell ever got to the position he coveted.

# Jefferson Davis: The "Other" American President

By Harvey Goldberg

Harvey Goldberg (APIC #3158) is a retired educator who serves as Secretary of the APIC and Region #2 Director. He has served as editor of the APIC Newsletter since 1984.

Each year, he co-chairs the Mid-Atlantic Regional in Langhorne, PA. His collecting interests are the Kennedys, FDR, "mini-pins" (5/8" or smaller), and political bobblehead dolls.



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A Virginian tobacco merchant used Davis' popularity to promote his cigarettes.

As with other wars, the Civil War did not end political activity. Even as war raged, there was an election of an American President. In fact there were two; Abraham Lincoln in 1864 and that "other American President," Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America in 1861.

Davis had been vilified by the Northern press but, objectively, he was a political servant who, like other Southerners, followed the paths of their states with loyalty equal to their counterparts in the North. Born in Kentucky, not far from Abraham Lincoln in time or distance, the only President of the Confederacy was a decorated war veteran and politician. He graduated West Point in 1828, served in the Black Hawk War and married the daughter of future President Zachary Taylor in 1835. She died shortly thereafter.





The card on the left mocks both Davis and President Andrew Johnson. Davis is shown escaping from Union troops by dressing as a woman, a popular story that is likely untrue. On the right is an early CDV of Davis.

In 1845, Davis married Varina Howell, the daughter of a Mississippi aristocrat and plantation owner. He successfully ran for Congress, only to resign in 1846 to join his former father-in-law in the Mexican-American War. Leading a regiment from Mississippi, Davis held his position at Buena Vista, saving General Taylor from possible defeat.

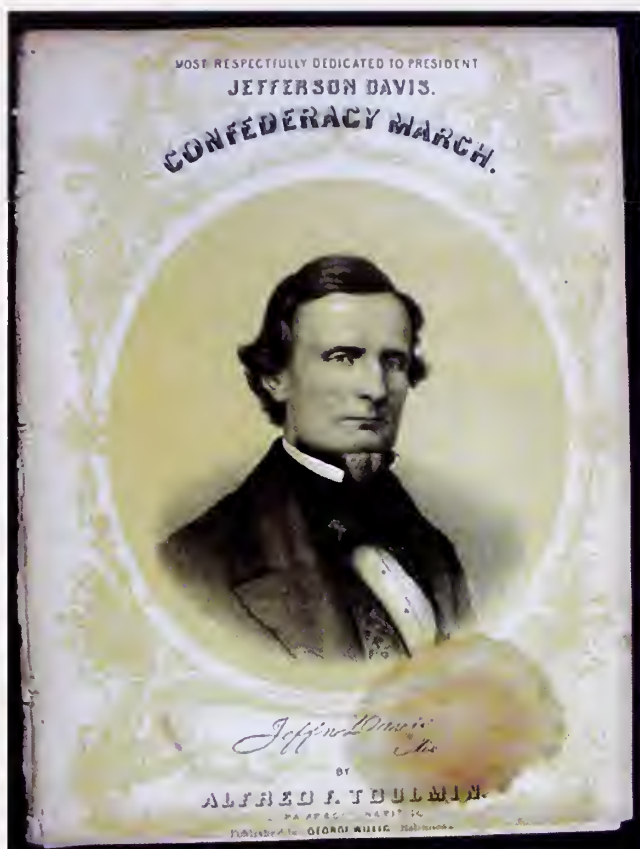
He returned home to become a "cotton nabob" (slang Southern term for the newly rich). He had been a Presidential Elector for James K. Polk in 1844 and was appointed to an unfinished term as U.S. Senator from Mississippi in 1847. He won re-election for a full term in 1850 but resigned to serve as Secretary of War under President Franklin Pierce. Davis also ran for Governor of Mississippi but was defeated by less than 1,000 votes. He was returned to the Senate in the 1856 election and yet again did not finish his term.

During his time in the Senate, Davis was charged with the duty of overseeing the construction of the Capitol Building. Another point of irony is the fact that, during his service as Secretary of War, Davis helped to build up an Army that had been lacking in size, training, and weaponry. This was the army he would later face as Commander-in-Chief of the Confederacy.

When Mississippi seceded from the Union on January 9, 1861, Senator Jefferson Davis announced his resignation from the United States Senate:

"I rise, Mr. President, for the purpose of announcing to the Senate that I have satisfactory evidence that the State of Mississippi, by a solemn ordinance of her people, in convention assembled, has declared her separation from the United States. Under these circumstances, of course, my functions are terminated here. It has seemed to me proper, however, that I should appear in the Senate to announce that fact to my associates, and I will say but very little more...It is known to Senators who have served with me here that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union. Therefore, if I had thought that Mississippi was acting without sufficient provocation, or without an existing necessity, I should still, under my theory of the Government, because of my allegiance to the State of which I am a citizen, have been bound by her action."

A convention of delegates from the then-eight seceded States assembled in Congress at Montgomery, Alabama, on the 4th of February, 1861, for the purpose of organizing a provisional government. This body adopted a constitution for the Confederate States of America on the 8th of February. On the 9th of February, Congress proceeded to the election of a President and Vice-President, and agreed upon Jefferson Davis of Mississippi for President and Alexander Stephens of Georgia for Vice-President.



Jefferson Davis was not the first choice for "provisional President" of the fledgling Confederate States of America. Alexander Stephens was, but his pro-Union stand prior to secession made Stephens unacceptable to some. Davis was a compromise candidate who was chosen after several others declined the post.

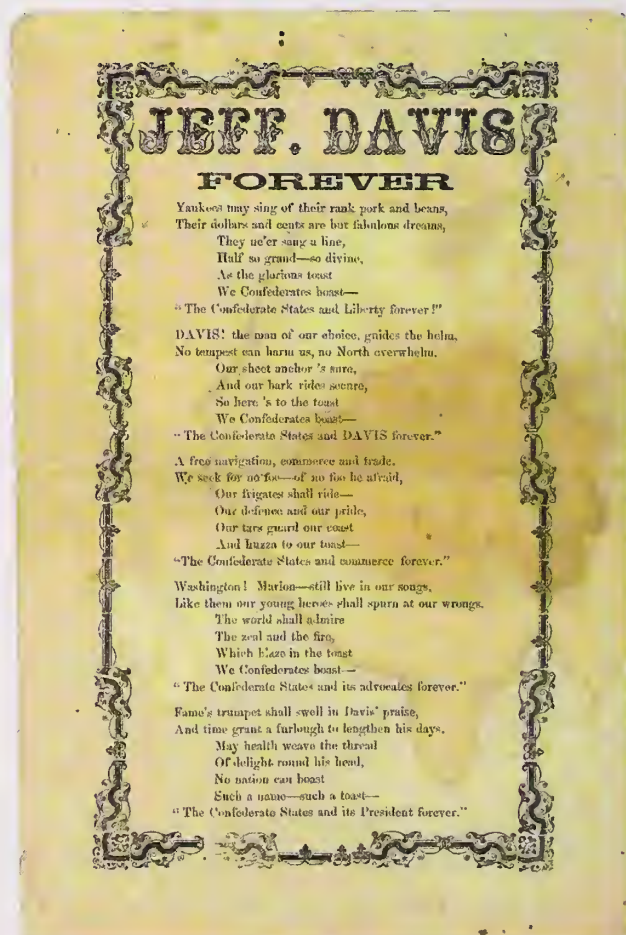
In his Inaugural address to the Confederate Congress, Davis was not particularly optimistic:

"Called to the difficult and responsible station of Chief Executive of the Provisional Government which you have instituted, I approach the discharge of the duties assigned to me with an humble distrust of my abilities, but with a sustaining confidence in the wisdom of those who are to guide and to aid me in the administration of public affairs, and an abiding faith in the virtue and patriotism of the people."

Voters loyal to the Confederate States of America went to the polls to elect their leaders on November 6, 1861. Running unopposed, provisional president Jefferson Davis was elected to a six-year term as President of the Permanent Government of the Confederacy. Around the time of Davis's inauguration, the confederate capital was moved to Richmond, Virginia. He would be again approved by popular

vote on Feb. 22, 1862 and was inaugurated for a second time. Noting that he was being sworn in on "this the birthday of the man most identified with the establishment of American independence [George Washington] and beneath the monument erected to commemorate his heroic virtues and those of his compatriots..." Davis went on to state:

"With confidence in the wisdom and virtue of those who will share with me the responsibility and aid me in the conduct of public affairs; securely relying on the patriotism and courage of the people, of which the present war has furnished so many examples, I deeply feel the weight of the responsibilities I now, with unaffected diffidence, am about to assume; and, fully realizing the inequality of human power to guide and to sustain, my hope is reverently fixed on Him whose favor is ever vouchsafed to the cause which is just. With humble gratitude and adoration, acknowledging the Providence which has so visibly protected the Confederacy during its brief but eventful career, to thee, O God, I trustingly commit myself, and prayerfully invoke thy blessing on my country and its cause."







These Civil War era envelopes boost the President of the Confederacy.

the United States." He had not; the U.S. government remained basically intact after secession as it had been before. Some southerners believed that Davis repeatedly interfered with strategies of his generals and changed orders from his war staff in Richmond, which cost the Confederacy many chances to win the Civil War. But in reality, they had neither the industry nor the manpower to oppose the North on an equal footing.

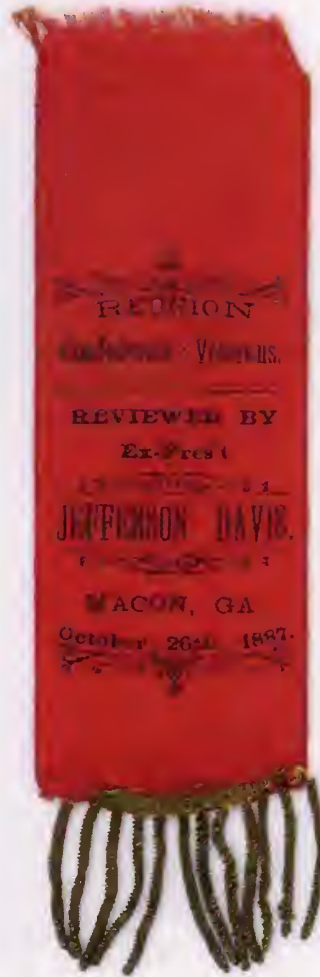
Was Jefferson Davis a traitor, a coward, an incompetent? According to his Vice President, Alexander Stephens, "His administration of the government of the Confederate States must be viewed in the light of the extraordinary difficulties suddenly encountered by a new republic which was attacked at all points from the beginning of its formation... Mr. Davis should be fairly viewed after secession as the same man who had justly earned fame in the service of the United States." Davis was captured and imprisoned at the end of the war, but never brought to trial on any charges. He lived out his life quietly, but always remained an advocate for States Rights. When Jefferson Davis died in 1889, his passing was noted throughout both North and South alike. Almost ninety years after his death, President Jimmy Carter of Georgia signed a bill into law restoring full U.S. citizenship to the late President of the Confederacy.

Once again, Jefferson Davis did not strike a positive chord. In actuality, he wanted (and had unsuccessfully sought) the governorship of the State of Mississippi and command of her militia. But here he was, in a position for which he had no real desire: President of the Confederacy.

Many in the South stated that President Davis had "created a nation." He had not; the Congress of seceding states did that. Others felt that Davis had attempted the "destruction of



A carte de visite (CDV) from Davis's time as CSA president.



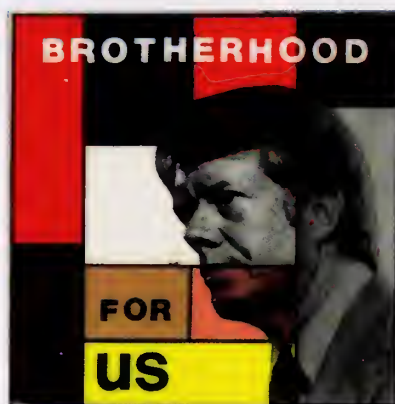
Davis remains a powerful symbol of the South and the "Lost Cause" even today.

Jimmy Carter is convinced that he never would have won the presidency in 1976 had not the civil rights revolution succeeded in the South: "Had this not happened, I could never have been considered as a serious candidate for national office." By the time Carter ran, many commentators were already talking of a "New South." In fact, shortly after Carter was elected governor of Georgia in 1970, *Time* ran a cover story about Carter, an example of the South's new kind of governors. Looking back at his 1976 campaign, President Carter said, "Overwhelming support from my Black neighbors, including the family of Martin Luther King, Jr., helped to alleviate the concerns of voters in other regions about the prospect of electing a Georgia governor to the nation's highest office."

# Jimmy Carter, Soul Brother

**By D. Jason Berggren**

*D. Jason Berggren (APIC #13033) is a doctoral student and adjunct professor of political science at Florida International University.*



At one point during the primary season, Carter was invited by Representative Andrew Young to visit and talk with the Congressional Black Caucus as had the other Democratic presidential candidates. Carter recalls that Young said that the other candidates "seemed ill at ease and had been quick to agree with virtually every policy suggestion the caucus members made." Carter, however, said that he "felt at home" with them and that he was not afraid to voice his disagreements with

the group. Each candidate was also asked at each session, "How many Black people do you have on your campaign staff?" The other candidates would typically answer that they had "one or two, and one had three." When Carter was asked, he did not have a ready answer. "I didn't have the slightest idea. So I started naming them aloud to count them up, and when I finished, I realized that I had twenty-two." Carter's candor and genuine commitment to equality scored him points with African-American leaders and voters.

Religion also mattered. Carter earned the support and respect from Martin Luther King, Sr., Coretta Scott King, and Reverend Andrew Young probably because they shared a Baptist faith. Young was particularly impressed by Carter's faith. "His religion was really way down deep in the marrow of his bones. And I said, 'That's the kind of guy that ought to be running this country.'"



Carter could speak the language of both the southern and religious experiences of many African-Americans that no other candidate in 1976 could. He felt comfortable with predominantly Black audiences and spoke their common religious tongue. In particular, Carter shared with many African-Americans the belief that Christians are required to be politically active. With shared convictions, Martin Luther King, Sr. could confidently proclaim in his benediction prayer at the Democratic Convention that "surely the Lord sent Jimmy Carter to come on out and bring America back where she belongs." Rev. Young was especially crucial for Carter's success. For instance, he worked on Carter's behalf in crucial northern primaries, such as in Pennsylvania, to rally Black Baptists and Black clerics and persuade his colleagues in the Congressional Black Caucus to support this white southern governor. Young claims that the role of the Black clerical leadership, including Congressman Bill Gray, a Baptist minister, was critical for ensuring a Carter win in the Pennsylvania primary. For his efforts, Carter named Young U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

Stuart Eizenstat, Carter's domestic affairs advisor during the campaign, concurred with surprise on how important Carter's Baptist faith was to winning Black votes. "The Baptist background was a very important thing in establishing the chemistry between Black voters and Jimmy Carter. You could feel it when you came into a Black church, a sort of instant sense of communication. It had a deeply felt resonance among Black voters." With the racial changes in the South and his religious commonalities with many African-Americans, Carter became the first president elected from the Deep South in 128 years (since General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana in 1848) and set a winning model for subsequent Southern Democratic presidential aspirants.



Jimmy Carter's endorsement by Martin Luther King, Sr. was an important advantage in his 1976 race for President.



When Carter fired Andrew Young as UN Ambassador, it angered some Black activists.

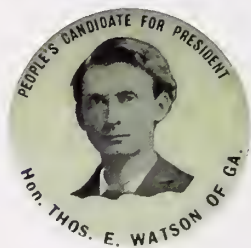
# "The Sage of Hickory Hill"

## Thomas Watson and the Contradictions of Southern Politics

**By Michael Kelly**

*Michael Kelly (APIC #395) has been editor of The Keynoter since 1992.*

*He earned his BA from the University of Notre Dame and his MA from Wayne State University. His collecting interests include the Abolitionists, Reconstruction and Black Republicans.*



Thomas E. Watson is a symbol of the contradictions in Southern politics. Like so many others (George Wallace and Strom Thurmond as examples), he began his political life as an idealistic progressive, advocating economic justice and racial equality, only to turn into a virulent reactionary spouting hatred for Blacks, Jews and Catholics.

Born in 1856 (the year of "Bleeding Kansas" and "Bleeding Sumner"), he grew up on a small plantation in Georgia where his father owned a number of slaves. The Civil War saw his father wounded twice in battle defending the Confederacy and the postwar devastation of the South drove the Watsons from their plantation to a small nearby farm.

Young Tom Watson became a lawyer and prospered. He followed his father into Georgia politics, winning a seat in the state legislature in 1882. But Watson's stubborn and impatient nature didn't fit consensus politics and he resigned his seat before his first term was over. He served as a Democratic presidential elector in 1888.

His inclination to side with small farmers and businessmen drew him to the new Populist movement and in 1890 Watson was elected to Congress as a Farmer Alliance Democrat. When he got to Washington, he abandoned the Democrats and joined the first People's Party caucus. The Populists nominated him for Speaker (he won the votes of eight Populist congressmen from the West) and he helped to found the Georgia Populist Party in 1892.







In 1896, Tom Watson was the running mate of William Jennings Bryan, but only on the Populist ticket. Bryan had a Democratic running mate too. The 1 1/4" version is especially rare.

The rural South was wracked by conflict between those advocating a fusion of Democrats and Populists and those who preferred an independent Populist Party. The same election fraud and intimidation that had been used against Black Republicans during Reconstruction was turned on the white Populists and Watson lost his seat in Congress in 1892. His attempts to regain his seat in 1894 again failed because of massive fraud.

Watson carried on the fight through his newspaper, *The People's Party Paper*, which soon enjoyed a national circulation. In 1896, the Populists faced a dilemma when the Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan on a progressive platform that mirrored Populist positions. The Democratic convention insisted on a balanced ticket and nominated Arthur Sewall, a wealthy conservative businessman from Maine, for vice president.

The Populists couldn't stomach Sewall's anti-labor record and great wealth. They agreed to nominate Bryan as their presidential nominee also but insisted on their own vice presidential nominee. Tom Watson was their choice. Democratic leaders agreed to a fusion plan but reneged on the agreement after the Populists had nominated Bryan.

In some states the Bryan/Sewall ticket appeared on the ballot while the Bryan/Watson ticket appeared elsewhere. The Bryan/Watson ticket received 217,000 votes in seventeen states and 27 electoral votes. In the end, it didn't matter as McKinley won the election in November.

Tom Watson would be the presidential nominee of the declining People's Party in 1904 and 1908, but made little national impression. But back home in Georgia, however, his power was on the rise. Watson returned to the Democratic Party and, although he didn't run himself, became a decisive force in state politics. Ambitious politicians began to visit his farm, seeking the endorsement of "the Sage of Hickory Hill."

But increasingly his voice became one of hatred. He may

have been directly responsible for the lynching of Leo Frank, a Jewish factory owner accused of the murder of a young white girl. There was no credible evidence against Frank but Watson shrilly attacked Frank as a "satyr-faced New York Jew" and a "lustful beast." Watson filled his newspaper with lurid descriptions of the girl's "horrible death defending her virtue against a rich depraved Sodomite Jew" and openly called for his lynching.

When Georgia Governor John Slaton bravely defied the mob and overturned Frank's conviction, Watson told his readers that "lynch law was better than no law at all." Late on the night of August 16, 1915, an armed mob broke into the Georgia State Prison, dragged Frank off into the night and lynched him.

Perhaps it was his success in the Leo Frank case that motivated Watson to seek a seat in Congress in 1918. He failed that year but his political career took an upward turn. Despite being in poor health, Georgia elected Thomas Watson to the U.S. Senate in 1920 (defeating both the incumbent senator and incumbent governor in the primary) where he served less than two years before dying at the age of 66 in 1922.

Today a statue of Thomas Watson stands prominently on the grounds of the Georgia State Capitol, where it continues to spark controversy between those who see him as a defender of the little man and those who see him as a symbol of racial and religious bigotry.



Thomas Watson was the presidential candidate of the Populist Party. His running mate in 1904 was Thomas Tibbles.



# Ole' Strom: An Amazing Century of Life

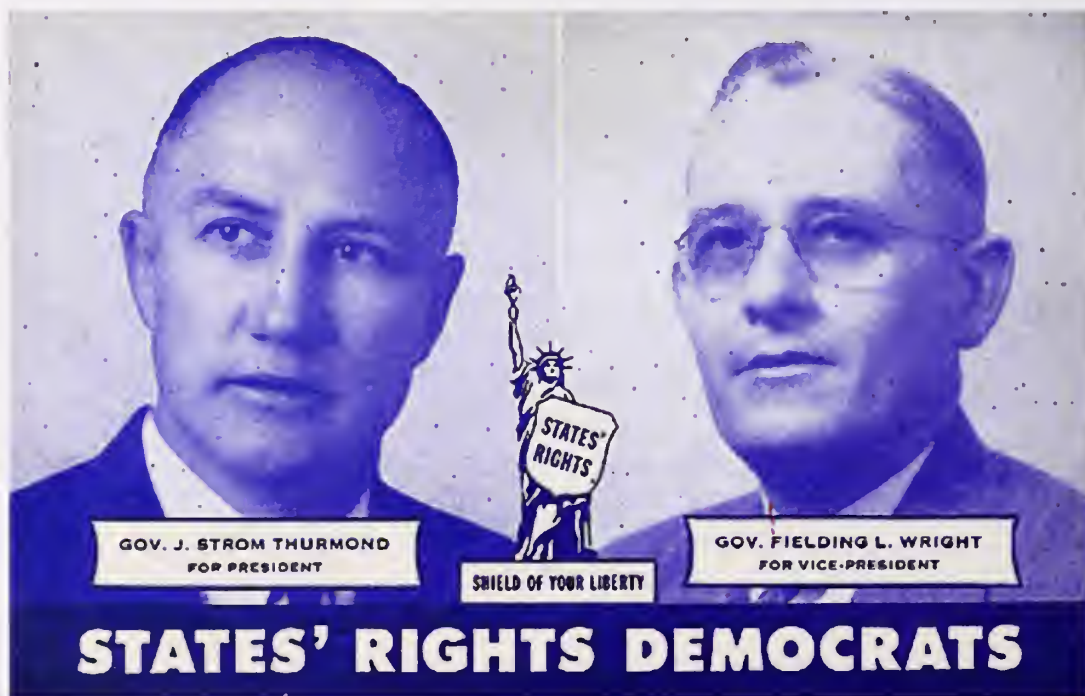
**By Paul Rozycki**

*Paul Rozycki (APIC #11384) is a Professor of Political Science at Mott Community College in Michigan. He earned his BA from Northern Illinois University and his MA from Indiana University.*

How does one summarize the life of an individual who heard Pitchfork Ben Tillman on the stump in the early 20th century, won his first elected office in 1929, fought in the most memorable battle of WWII in 1944, ran for president as a States Rights candidate in 1948, established the record for the longest filibuster in the U.S. Senate in 1957, led the Democratic "solid south" to the Republican Party in 1964, was third in line for the presidency in 1981, became the longest serving member of the U.S. Senate in 1997 and the only 100 year old U.S. Senator in 2002?

The simple answer is that one does not. Strom Thurmond's life is not open to a quick and easy summary. In his century-long life he did all those things and more.

Born in Edgefield, South Carolina in 1902, Strom learned some of his early political lessons from his father, an ally of "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, who was elected South Carolina governor in 1890. After graduating from Clemson, Strom taught and coached in high school. In 1929, he won his first office when he was elected Superintendent of Education for Edgefield County. Under his father's direction, he studied the law and was admitted to the bar in 1930. In 1932, he was a successful candidate for the South Carolina State Senate, a position he held until 1938. As a southern Democrat of the 1930's he worked hard for Franklin Roosevelt's election. Like Roosevelt, he worked for a progressive government and supported programs to aid the poor, improve educational opportunities, and improve the economic conditions of farmers.



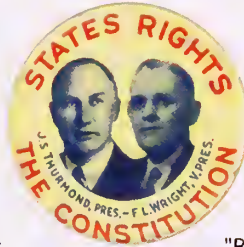


His early support of the New Deal programs of FDR was a sharp contrast to his views in the latter half of the 20th century. In 1938, he resigned from the state senate and was elected a circuit court judge.

Thurmond's judicial career was interrupted by WWII. Just four days after Pearl Harbor he enlisted in the Army as a 39-year old first lieutenant. He was with the 82nd Airborne Division when they were part of the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944. Thurmond fought all the way across Europe until Germany surrendered and then was transferred to the Pacific, where he served in the Philippines. Like so many veterans, his wartime experience was critical to his future political ambition.

On his return to South Carolina, he resumed his circuit court position that he had left in 1941. However, he didn't wait long before making his next political move. In 1946 he threw his hat in the ring for governor's race. There were 10 other candidates for the Democratic primary that year, but Thurmond's main opponents were the "Barnwell Ring." He ran as a populist against several political bosses from Barnwell County and won. As governor, he supported and worked for a number of progressive causes: improvements in the state educational system, an end to the poll tax, expanded welfare programs, legalization of divorce and allowing women to serve on juries. In a commentary on the times, he also forced 28 members of a lynch mob to stand trial for their actions. Though none were convicted, the mere fact that they had to face trial was considered "progressive" for the late 1940s.

While he was carving out a record as a "progressive-populist" governor, Thurmond broke with the Democratic Party over civil rights, walked out of the Democratic Convention and led the States' Rights or Dixiecrat party. In the 1948 election, President Truman, who had already integrated the armed forces, supported a civil rights plank to the party platform, and Thurmond led many southern delegates to the new third party. His campaign was an unapologetic defense of segregation and seemed (along with Henry Wallace's Progressive Party) to spell doom for the Truman-Barkley ticket. In the end, Truman won one of the most surprising electoral victories in American history, but the Strom Thurmond-Fielding Wright Dixiecrat ticket carried four states and 39 electoral votes.



Though they didn't win, the States' Rights Party signaled the beginning of the end of the "Solid South" as a Democratic stronghold. Sixteen years later, Thurmond would also be critical to the shift of the south from the Democratic to the Republican Party.

After his presidential bid, he turned his attention to the U.S. Senate. In 1950, he took on incumbent Senator Olin Johnston in a campaign where

each candidate tried to be more racist than the other. Other than the 1948 presidential race, it was the only election that Thurmond ever lost.

But he wasn't to be denied a senate seat for long. In 1954 incumbent senator Burnet Rhett Maybank died, and Edgar Brown, a leader of the "Barnwell Ring," was nominated to succeed him.

Thurmond launched a write-in campaign for the position. With the backing of many of the state's major newspapers and Governor Jimmy Byrnes, he pulled off the only successful write-in campaign for a U.S. Senate seat in American history. During the campaign he promised to resign before the next primary to allow the voters an opportunity to re-elect him in a traditional primary election. He did resign, and the voters reelected him in 1956 and repeated it every six years until 2002. By the end of his senate tenure, he had become not only the longest serving senator, but also, at age 100, the oldest incumbent senator in U.S. history. (He was not, however, the oldest person to have ever been a senator. That honor goes to California Republican Cornelius Cole, who served a single term in the U.S. Senate from 1867-1873. Cole was born in 1822 and died in 1924.)

Unlike the little known Cole, Thurmond's senate career was as tumultuous and colorful as the rest of his life. Perhaps the best known incident is his record-breaking filibuster against the Civil Rights Act of 1957. As even some traditional southern Democrats like Richard Russell and Lyndon Johnson were beginning to make some small moves to support civil rights, Thurmond stood alone and spoke continuously for 24 hours and 18 minutes in opposition to the bill. The bill passed.

On another occasion, Thurmond attempted to block the nomination of former Gov. Leroy Collins to a civil



**Storm Thurmond was boosted for President by his admirers in 1968 but was never a serious candidate after his 1948 Dixiecrat campaign.**

rights agency and ended up in a tussle on the floor with Texas Senator Ralph Yarborough. In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson had nominated former Florida Governor LeRoy Collins to lead an organization charged with mediating civil rights disputes. Thurmond felt that Collins was too supportive of integration and tried to prevent a quorum in the committee by blocking Yarborough from entering the room. They ended up in a brief wrestling match on the floor outside the committee room. Perhaps Thurmond's action with the greatest long-term significance was his decision to leave the Democratic Party and support Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election. Thurmond's move signaled a sea change in American politics as, over the next several decades, the traditional Democratic "solid south" went increasingly Republican. He was one of the first southern Democrats to move to the GOP. After Goldwater's loss, Thurmond became a major player in Richard Nixon's "southern strategy" in 1968. By supporting Nixon over George Wallace in 1968 Thurmond set in motion the long-term shift of white southern voters to the GOP.

In the area of civil rights, Thurmond's history is a story of contradiction and change. For much of his early career, he was a traditional anti-civil rights southern politician of his times. He was an ardent supporter of segregation and made that a major part of his Dixiecrat party run in 1948. In 1956, he was an originator of the "Southern Manifesto," that vowed to oppose the Brown decision ending school segregation. He set the senate filibuster record, arguing against a very mild 1957 civil rights bill—a bill that was supported by more than a few of his southern senate colleagues. As late as 1970, he campaigned for Albert Watson for governor in a very racially tainted campaign. Watson lost, and Thurmond began to take a different tack in racial matters. In the years following, he hired Black staff members, supported Blacks to federal judgeships, provided improved constituent services to minority voters, enrolled his daughter in an integrated public school, voted to extend the Voting Rights Act, and supported the Martin

Luther King holiday. He didn't get many Black votes (about 8% in most years) but in his last election, in 1996, he won 20% of the Black voters, a surprisingly good showing for a Republican in any state.

His civil rights history became even more complex with the revelation after Thurmond's death that he had fathered a child with his Black maid, Carrie Butler, in 1925 when he was 22 and she was 16. Over the years, Thurmond provided financial support to his daughter, Essie May Washington-Williams.

In his personal life, he married Jean Croun in 1947. She died in 1960 and he married Nancy Moore in 1968, when she was 23 and he was 66. An ardent health advocate who exercised regularly well into his 90s, he fathered his first child with her in 1971 and his last in 1976 when he was 73 years old.

After a life of conflict and contention, it is perhaps appropriate that even his leaving would not be quiet and without controversy. At Thurmond's 100th birthday party, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott brought back the racial conflicts of 1948 when he said that the country would have been better off if Thurmond would have won the election in that year. The public reaction to his comments forced Lott to step down from his leadership position. And just a few weeks before his death, the South Carolina legislature was about to honor Thurmond by placing his picture on the cover of the State Legislative Manual. Black lawmakers vigorously opposed the action in light of Thurmond's past.



**Button from his last Senate race in South Carolina.**



# South Carolina: Gateway to the GOP Nomination 1980-2000

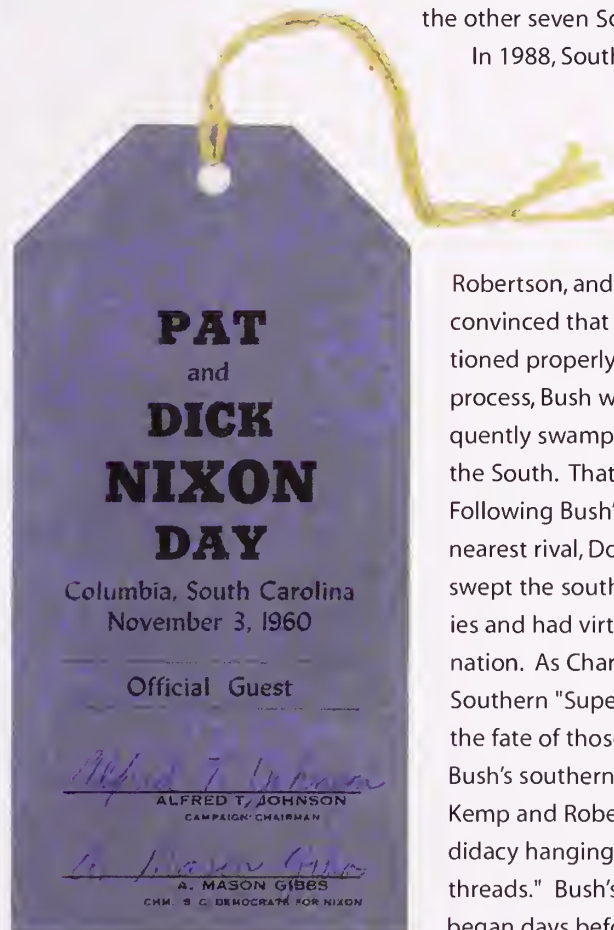
By D. Jason Berggren

For a long time, New Hampshire's "first in the nation" primary had the reputation of being the bellwether primary for the Republican nomination. No more. South Carolina is the new bellwether. At the nomination level, it may be said that for Republicans "as South Carolina goes, so goes the nomination." Since 1980, every eventual Republican nominee has won South Carolina's primary, and has won by double-digits. Because of its early position in the nomination process and its largely conservative electorate, South Carolina has either sustained the momentum of Republican frontrunners or it has aided Republican frontrunners to get back on track after rocky starts. In the words of some strategists, South Carolina has become the "firewall" against potential upsets in Iowa and New Hampshire.

In its first-ever primary, South Carolina helped Ronald Reagan in 1980, with the assistance of Lee Atwater and Rep. Carroll Campbell, eliminate Texan John Connally from the field. Reagan defeated Connally 55%-30%. Connally, the largest fundraiser in the field, was Reagan's most serious challenger in the South. After a convincing win in South Carolina, Reagan went on to sweep the other seven Southern primaries.

In 1988, South Carolina, again with the help of Atwater and Campbell, gave Vice President George Bush a giant boost over his rivals Bob Dole, Pat

Robertson, and Jack Kemp. Atwater was convinced that if South Carolina was positioned properly in the nomination process, Bush would win it and subsequently swamp his opponents throughout the South. That's what happened. Following Bush's 49%-21% win over his nearest rival, Dole, in South Carolina, Bush swept the southern Super Tuesday primaries and had virtually locked up the nomination. As Charles Bullock explained, the Southern "Super Tuesday all but sealed the fate of those challenging George Bush. Bush's southern triumph...eliminated Kemp and Robertson, and left Dole's candidacy hanging by the slenderest of threads." Bush's Super Tuesday triumph began days before in the Palmetto State.



In 1992, South Carolina joined Georgia in sinking Pat Buchanan's protest candidacy against President Bush, 67%-26%. In fact, that year, South Carolina became the first Southern state to have more voters participate in the Republican primary than the Democratic primary, even though Bush's renomination was never seriously in doubt and the Democratic contest was competitive.

In 1996, South Carolina bailed out frontrunner Dole after he stumbled early by barely winning Iowa, losing New Hampshire to Buchanan, and losing Delaware and Arizona to Steve Forbes. With the assistance of Governor David Beasley, Senator Thurmond, and former governor Campbell, Dole bested Buchanan 45%-29%. By winning all of South Carolina's 37 delegates, Dole held a delegate lead for the first time. From then on, Dole would not lose another primary nor trail in the delegate count. By the end of March, Dole had exceeded the number of delegates needed for nomination. Charles Bullock wrote, "The Dole express got on track in the South and by the time that the primary season shifted to other regions, the die had been cast." But more specifically, it was South Carolina that first enabled Dole to regain his footing after his initial setbacks in other regions.

In 2000, South Carolina once again re-energized the Republican frontrunner. George W. Bush beat Senator John McCain, 53%-42%. Before the South Carolina primary, Bush had won the Iowa Caucus and the Delaware primary, but had lost to Senator McCain by 18% in New Hampshire. While Bush had won two contests to McCain's one, New Hampshire was the first state seriously contested by McCain.

With this record, South Carolina may have stolen New Hampshire's reputation for being the bellwether for the Republican nomination. It has had a perfect record since 1980 in voting for the eventual nominee, and has provided Republican frontrunners the opportunity to regain their footing, their viability, and the momentum for subsequent primary contests. While it has been observed that presidential frontrunners do typically stumble early in the primary process, what is interesting is that the stumbling in the last twenty years for Republican frontrunners was up north, in Iowa or New Hampshire, and the recovery was down south, in South Carolina.



## Ad Index

Anderson Americana . . . . .	7
Early American History Auction, Inc . . . . .	Cover 3
Diamond International Galleries . . . . .	Cover 4, pg 5
Great Plains Political Auction . . . . .	8
MastroNet Inc . . . . .	Cover 2, pg 3
Richard Fenno . . . . .	8
Slater's Americana . . . . .	9



# "Georgia Day" Theodore Roosevelt and the 1907 Jamestown Exposition

By Brian Krapf



The beautiful and graphic Theodore Roosevelt button which illustrates this article is known to many of us. We know that it was made especially for the 1907 Jamestown Exposition and celebrates "Georgia Day." Indeed, this button ranks among my favorite Georgia related pieces in my collection. However, until recently, I did not know the true history behind this pin. I always assumed that it was made to celebrate the State of Georgia. I was surprised to learn that it was actually made to celebrate the USS Georgia, a battleship of the Great White Fleet.

The Jamestown Exposition was held April 26 through November 30, 1907 at what is now Norfolk Naval Base in

Virginia. The fair comprised 340 acres of land and 40 acres of water. General Fitzhugh Lee of Spanish American war fame was named Expo President. The entire fair cost approximately \$3,000,000.00, with the U.S. Government contributing \$1.6 million and the individual states of Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia, donating the rest. Admission was 50 cents for adults and 25 cents for children. Despite attendance of over 3,000,000 people, no profit was realized and the expo was deemed a financial disaster. However, although it failed to produce the profit of comparable world's fairs and expositions held in the United States during the early part of the 20th Century, it did accomplish its mission of showcasing United States industrialism and military might. For example, on hand was a 122' by 60' relief model of the Panama Canal, a re-creation of the battle of the Monitor and Merrimac and a recreation of the recent San Francisco earthquake.

More importantly, the Exposition was notable for its display of American military power. Commanded by Admiral Robley Evans, sixteen battleships of the Great White Fleet were docked offshore, in an area of water spanning forty acres. Additionally, U.S. Army ground forces held reviews and skilled demonstrations, under the command of Major General Frederick Dent Grant, son of former President Ulysses Grant.

The USS Georgia was a battleship of the Great White Fleet and joined her sister ships for ceremonies opening the Jamestown Exposition. President Roosevelt and dignitaries reviewed the fleet on June 10, 1907 and the President proclaimed June 11th Georgia Day in special ceremonies aboard the Georgia. Indeed, the Georgia served as the flagship for the naval review of the Jamestown Exposition. On June 11th, Georgia Day, President Roosevelt gave a much anticipated speech promoting America's military strength. You will notice that the USS Georgia appears on the button, to the right of Theodore Roosevelt's image.

Celebrated author Mark Twain was one of President Roosevelt's invited guests aboard the Georgia. At the time, Twain was a columnist for the *New York Times*. In

his traditional humor, Twain dispelled rumors that while a guest aboard the battleship, he had been lost at sea. In a contemporaneous column, he wrote "you can assure my Virginia friends that I will make an exhaustive investigation of this report that I have been lost at sea. If there is any foundation for the report, I will at once apprise the anxious public. I sincerely hope that there is no foundation for the report, and I also hope that judgment will be suspended until I ascertain the true state of affairs." Similarly, he sent a contemporaneous telegram from the Georgia to his good

friend Milton Goodkind of New York City, citing his address as "Latitude 43 degrees, 5 hours and 41 seconds West by Southeast of Central Park West."

The Georgia herself met with tragedy after the Exposition. After leaving, she sailed with the fleet for target practice in Cape Cod Bay, arriving June 15th. During drills, a powder charge ignited prematurely in her eight inch aft turret. Ten officers and enlisted men were killed, and eleven were injured.



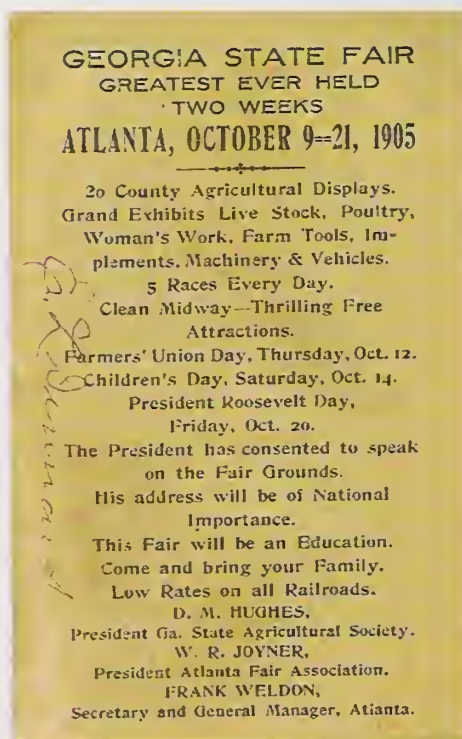
## President Roosevelt's Visit to Atlanta

The badge illustrating this article is a souvenir from President Theodore Roosevelt's visit to Atlanta, Georgia on Friday, October 20, 1905. Roosevelt's first stop was at the twenty year old Georgia Institute of Technology. There, he spoke on the steps of the administration building about the importance of technical education. During his speech, Roosevelt stated "America can be the first nation only by the kind of training and effort which is developed and is symbolized in institutions of this kind. Every triumph of engineering skill credited to an American is

credited to America. It is incumbent upon you as well, not only for your individual sakes, but for that collective American citizenship which dominates the American nation."

After he completed his speech, Roosevelt attended the Georgia State Fair in Atlanta. As is noted on the palm card illustrating this article, Friday, October 20, 1905 was declared "President Roosevelt Day." According to the card, "the President has consented to speak on the fair grounds. His address will be of national importance."

More than thirty years later, in 1935, TR's cousin President Franklin Roosevelt would visit Atlanta for a great homecoming celebration in his honor. [B.K.]





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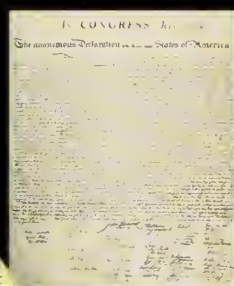
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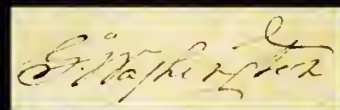
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